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American School
of Classical Studies
at Athens

THE CAVE AT VARI

II

INSCRIPTIONS

TWENTY inscriptions have been found in the cave at Vari. Of these the first ten as here published, and two fragments of the stone containing Nos. 16 and 17, were uncovered during the recent excavation. The others have been repeatedly published, — notably, of course, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* (I, 423–431), — but are here given again with all possible accuracy and with facsimile copies from photographs and “squeezes.”¹ With the exception of No. 7, which remains in the cave, the inscriptions on detached stones are now in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens.

For the inscriptions on vases, see below, pp. 325 ff.

I. SIX DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS CUT ON THE MARBLE
RELIEFS (pp. 301–310 and PLATES III–VIII)

1. At the top of relief No. I (p. 302 and PLATE III). Height of letters, 0.0175 m. to 0.025 m. The stone is much encrusted, and the part containing the last letter or letters is broken off.

ΗΡΕ ΚΑΙΔ ηρε κλιδ

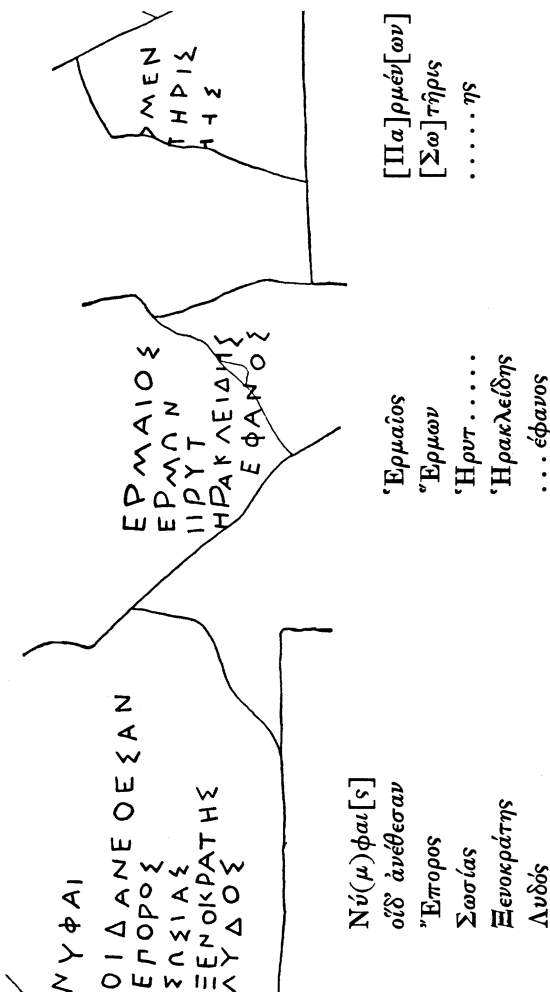
2. At the bottom of relief No. II (p. 304 and PLATE IV). The inscription is cut on a surface 0.51 m. long and 0.025 m. to 0.03 m. wide. Length of inscription itself, 0.425 m. Height of letters, 0.010 m. to 0.015 m. The work is careless and the letters are hard to decipher, but the reading is sure.

¹ Most of the facsimiles and photographs are reproduced to scale, as follows: Nos. 1–10, $\frac{1}{4}$ natural dimensions; Nos. 11–13, 18, 19, $\frac{1}{20}$ natural dimensions; Nos. 16, 17, 20, $\frac{1}{10}$ natural dimensions; Nos. 14 and 15 are not drawn to scale.

ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ ΕΥΚΛΗΣ ΛΑΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ

Εὐκλείδης Εὐκλῆς Λακράτης Νύμφαις

None of the persons can be identified. It seems not improbable that this Εὐκλῆς is the same as the one in No. 6. Perhaps, therefore, all the men mentioned in these two inscriptions are from the deme of Halae, which was but five or six kilometres from the cave.



3. At the bottom of relief No. III (p. 306 and PLATE V). The inscription is cut on a surface 0.70 m. long and 0.11 m. wide. The original surface has been roughly chiselled away, probably to erase a previous inscription. The present letters are very shallow, and in some places illegible. Height of letters, about 0.01 m.

For the omission of μ in Νύμφαις, see Meisterhans, *Gram. d. Att. Inscr.*³, p. 84, 2. The name 'Επορος is found nowhere else, and seems not to be Attic (cf. Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch d.*

Gr. Eigennamen; Fick-Bechtel, *Gr. Personennamen*; Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*; etc.). The reading of the third name in the second column is very doubtful. For Σωτήρης (masc.), see *C.I.G.* IV, 6999. None of the persons can be identified. Worth noting is the fact that several of these names are common names for slaves.

4. At the bottom of relief No. IV (p. 307 and PLATE VI). Both ends of the inscription are broken so that the termini cannot be defined. Height of letters, 0.010 m. to 0.015 m.

Σ Π Ε Ι Ο Ι Ο Υ Λs Πειθίου Α.....

The second iota is engraved over an erasure. Πειθίας cannot be identified, though the name is found several times in inscriptions.

5. At the upper right-hand corner of relief No. V (p. 307 and PLATE VII). Length of inscription, 0.09 m. Height of letters, about 0.01 m.

Ν Υ Μ Φ Α Ι Ξ Νύμφαις

6. At the bottom of relief No. VI (p. 309 and PLATE VIII). The inscription is cut in a surface 0.69 m. long and 0.03 m. wide. Length of inscription itself, 0.32 m. Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Ε) (Σ Λ Α Κ Λ Ε Ο Υ) (Λ Α Ι Ε Υ Σ
Ε[ύκλ]ῆς Λακλέου Ἀλαιεύς

Neither of the persons mentioned can be identified. For Εύκλῆς, see also No. 2. The name Λακλῆς or Λακλῆς (cf. Δημοκλῆς) is not found elsewhere. For the form of the genitive Λακλέου, see Meisterhans, *op. cit.* p. 133, 8, with remark on date there given ("Seit 350 v. Ch. begegnen vereinzelte Formen auf -κλεου, die aber nicht durchdringen und später wieder verschwinden").

II. FOUR INSCRIPTIONS ON DETACHED BLOCKS

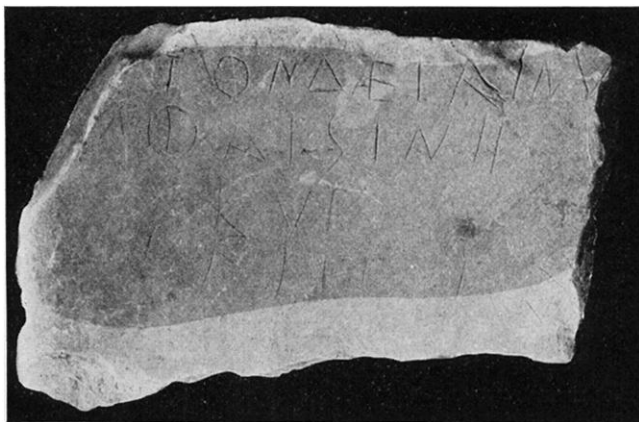
7. Across the shorter side of an unhewn and irregular slab of limestone, triangular in form, and about 0.40 m. long, 0.35 m. wide, 0.10 m. thick. Height of letters, 0.025 m. to 0.050 m.



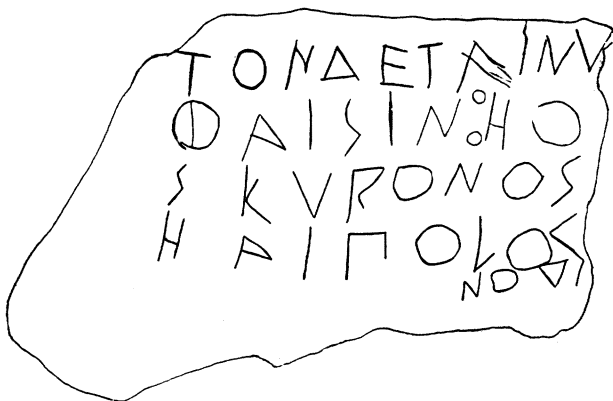
Ἐπιχαρίδο

Retrograde. The style and the letter forms are very similar to those of the well-known Ἐυδάλου inscription (*C.I.A.* I, 467; Roberts, *Introd. to Gr. Epig.* p. 76, No. 37; Conze, *Die Att. Grabreliefs*, I, p. 10), the shapes of the stones being also somewhat alike. The date of the Ἐυδάλου inscription is set by Roberts near the beginning of the sixth century. The stone probably served for a tombstone.

8. On a slab of brownish sandstone about 0.18 m. high, 0.30 m. wide, 0.14 m. thick. Height of letters, 0.015 m. to 0.040 m.



(The differences in color are due to faulty development of the photographic plate.)



τόνδε ταῖ(ς) νύ(μ)-
 φαισιν · ἡο
 Σκύρωνος
 ἡΑῖπολος (or ἡαιπόλος)

The syllable *δον* was already on the stone when this inscription was cut, the slab having been inverted for the later use. For the omission of the *ς* in *ταῖς* before *ν*, see Meisterhans, *op. cit.* p. 91, n. 826. For the omission of *μ* in *νύμφαισιν*, see note on No. 3. Another inscription, in which the customary order of name and father's name is reversed as here (unless we should read *ἡαιπόλος*, the goatherd), is published by Mylonas in the *Bull. Cor. Hell.* III (1879), p. 179 (*C.I.A.* IV, 477, 1), — an inscription of the sixth century B.C. The names *Σκύρων* and *Αἶπολος* are each known from one previous source (respectively, Messenian and Thessalian, not Attic; see Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, s.v.). The inscription is cast in a crude metrical form, as follows:

—υ|—>|—υ|—>|—υ|—υ|—.

9. On a slab of limestone broken off at the right. Height, 0.28 m.; greatest width, 0.36 m.; thickness, 0.08 m. Height of letters in second and third lines, 0.04 m. to 0.055 m.; height of *Φ*, 0.08 m.

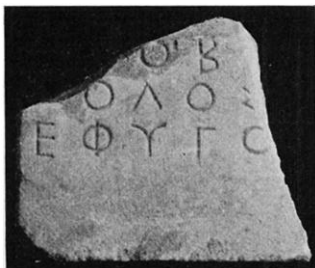




Θ.....
 καλ.....
 ρικόν (or ρικόν)

One is at first tempted to restore ΘΕΟΙ in the first line, but this formula belongs to Attic decrees, its use in these beginning in 433 B.C. (Larfeld in Müller's *Handbuch*, I, p. 560), while our inscription is manifestly of a much earlier date — but perhaps the first character is not a letter.

10. On a fragment of a white marble slab, the left and bottom edges of which are whole, the others broken. Height on the left, 0.075 m.; greatest height, 0.11 m.; width at bottom, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.04 m. On the back, which is rough, is a raised margin along the bottom 0.04 m. high, 0.0075 m. thick. Height of letters, 0.012 m. to 0.018 m.



..οβ.....
 δολος...
 εφυγον...

στοιχηδόν. The letters are carefully cut. The third line may read *ἔφυγον*, the letters of the first and second lines belonging to names which are the subject; but *-δολος* can scarcely be a nominal suffix.

III. FIVE INSCRIPTIONS CUT IN THE WALLS OF THE CAVE

11. In the living rock below a niche in the smaller division of the cave (p. 275). Length of inscription, 0.715 m. Height of letters, 0.12 m. to 0.16 m. (*C.I.A.* I, 428.)

ΧΑΡΙΤΟΣ Χάριτος

The *ς* at the end is certain, instead of *ν* (cf. *C.I.A.* *l.c.*). See p. 275 for a possible explanation of the singular number.

12. In the living rock below a niche in the larger division of the cave (p. 266). Length of inscription, about 0.60 m. Height of letters, 0.10 m. (*C.I.A.* I, 429.)

ΠΑΝ ΟΥ Πανός

The inscription is visible in the photograph on p. 266 (Fig. 2). The long interval between the *ν* and the *ο* is due to inequalities in the rock. This inscription and the one following must, from the forms of the letters, be dated not far from the time of the introduction of the worship of Pan into Attica.

13. In the living rock below a niche above No. 12 (p. 270), and a repetition of it. Length of inscription about 0.485 m. Height of letters about 0.10 m. (*C.I.A.* I, 429.)

ΠΑΝΟΥ Πανός

14. In the living rock below a niche in the larger division of the cave. The inscription has now disappeared. Its former position is shown in Fig. 6, on p. 271. (*C.I.A.* I, 430.)

Ἀπόλλωνος . Ἐρσου

The inscription had not entirely disappeared in 1887–88, at the time of the visit of Milchhöfer (cf. *Karten v. Attica*, Text, *l.c.*), who remarks that it was then “frevelhaft verstümmelt.”

15. In the living rock, nearly opposite the Χάριτος inscription (No. 11), in the smaller division of the cave (p. 275). The inscribed area is partially smoothed along the left margin over the space occupied by the first two or three letters in each line; the remainder of the surface is exceedingly uneven and is blackened by smoke. The right-hand limit cannot be determined. In the following copy an attempt has been made to reproduce the letter forms and their relative positions as accurately as possible, but several of the characters are very obscure. In some places it is impossible to differentiate natural depressions from artificial. No squeeze could be made. (*C.I.A.* I, 431.)

ITAN EDEX
ΣΟΚΩΤΕΙΤ
ΚΑΙΤ ΟΝΟΜ
ΘΟΝ ΝΙΤΕΓΕ



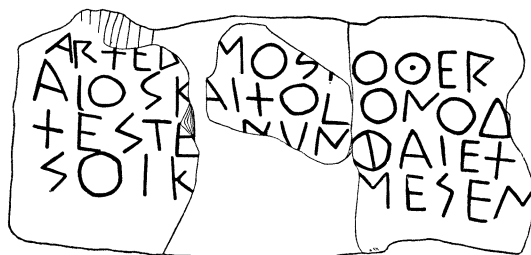
The reading is so doubtful that no transliteration is attempted.

The first character in the first line appears like a natural hollow, being deep while the other markings are shallow, but its position relatively to the ξ of the second line would argue for its literal nature. The letter after A, in the same line, has usually been read N; there are now, however, no decisive traces. Following this is room for another letter, which may have read T (so *C.I.A. l.c.*), but this too is now illegible. The X forms the end of this line, and beyond it is a natural cavity several centimetres deep and showing no signs of letters. In the second line the sixth letter may possibly be I, instead of T. After the E of this line is an irregular ridge about a centimetre high and extending down into the next line. All the letters to the right of this ridge are especially defaced and illegible, so much so

that their existence is unnoticed in earlier copies. Natural and artificial markings are scarcely distinguishable. In the fourth line the first three letters seem to me sure. They were so read by Milchhöfer (*l.c.*; cf. *C.I.A.* IV, 1, p. 155), in contradistinction to the reading in the *C.I.A.* I, 431.

IV. FIVE INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO "ARCHEDEMUS THE THEREAN"

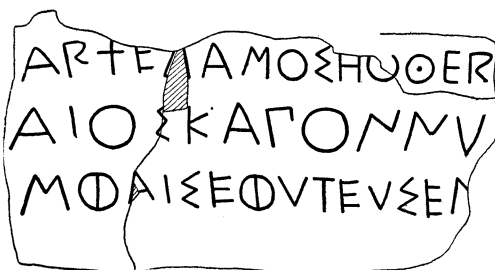
16. On a block of shaly rock broken into fragments, of which four remain. The largest has been for a number of years in the National Museum at Athens (cf. *C.I.A.* IV, 1, p. 45). The elliptical fragment split off—together with a part now lost—since the publication in the *C.I.A.*, was rediscovered during the excavation, when the large piece at the right end (left in No. 17) was found also. The original surface has chipped off in spots so that part of the letters are hard to decipher. Length of complete block, about 0.70 m.; height, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.15 m. Height of letters, 0.04 m. to 0.06 m. (*C.I.A.* I, 424.)



Ἀρχέδ[α]μος ὁ Θερ-
αῖος καὶ χολονοδ-
χες τῇ νύμφαι ἐχ-
σοικ[οδό]μεσεν

The $\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\omicron\delta\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ has not been explained. Strange as the word (or words) seems, it is apparently in its original condition. A small bit of the stone is gone at the end of the second line, but hardly enough to have contained an additional letter; furthermore, as the inscription now stands, each of the first three lines has the same number of letters (fourteen), and this is probably an intentional uniformity. The first letter of the third line is certainly χ ; not Δ , as in the *C.I.A.* It is evident that the time-honored association of Archedemus with the deme of Cholleidae, according to Chandler's emendation of this inscription, is wrong. In the third line the reading $\tau\hat{\epsilon}\iota$ (for $\tau\hat{\alpha}\iota$) is probable, but not absolutely sure, owing to breakage of the stone. For the ν in $\nu\acute{\nu}\phi\alpha\iota$, see Meisterhans, *op. cit.* p. 113, 8. The ς at the beginning of the fourth line is seen to be part of $\chi\varsigma$ (for ξ), and not of $\nu\acute{\mu}\phi\alpha\iota\varsigma$, as had been thought.

17. On the reverse side of the stone last described. (*C.I.A.* I, 425.)



Ἀρχέδαμος ὁ Θε-
αῖος κάπον νύ-
μφαις ἐφύτευσεν

The fragment bearing the letters $\Theta\epsilon\rho$ was broken off and carried to Athens after the stone was first read. Following a

suggestion of Milchhöfer (*Karten v. Attika*, Text, Heft III-VI, p. 17, "einen Rest davon vermuthlich bildet das in dem Besitz der archäol. Gesellschaft gelangte Fragment mit den Buchstaben ΘΕΡΑΙΟΣ Invent. no. 304"), this piece has recently been found — since the accompanying photograph was made — and fitted to its original place as reproduced on the facsimile.

18. In the living rock near the edge of the first landing (p. 265). The left end is broken away. Length of inscription, about 0.70 m. Height of letters, 0.055 m. to 0.105 m. (*C.I.A.* I, 426.)

Ι + ΕΔΑΜΟΣ	[A] ρχέδαμος
ΟΘΕΡΑΙΟΣ	[h]ο Θεραίος

19. In the living rock over the left hand of the "Archedemus relief" (p. 272). Length of upper line, 0.58 m. Height of letters, 0.055 m. to 0.105 m. (*C.I.A.* I, 427.)

ΑΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΣ	'Αρχέδημος
ΑΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΣ	'Αρχέδημος

20. In the perpendicular surface of the living rock, upon a depressed area smoothed for the purpose (p. 265). Length of inscription, 0.63 m.; height, 0.31 m. Height of letters, 0.040 m. to 0.055 m. (*C.I.A.* I, 423.)

ΑΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΣ	'Αρχέδημος
ΗΡΑΙΟΣ	ὁ νυμφ-
ΟΛΗΓΤΟΣ	ὀληπτος
ΑΙΣΙΝΥΜΦΟΝΤ	αἰσι νυμφὸν τ-
ΑΝΤΡΟΝΕΞΗΡΓ	ἄντρον ἐξηργ-
ΑΤΟ	άξατο

στοιχηδόν. There is no sign for the rough breathing. H is used for η, but O for ω. The ξ in the last line is certain. The second half of the inscription is unmistakably metrical (Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* 762; Allen, 'On Greek Versification in Inscriptions,' *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, IV [1885-86], p. 169, cf. 65, 125), and it seems possible that

the first half is an attempt at versification (so Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 199, who calls it choriambic), the scheme being somewhat as follows :

— ∪ | ∼ ∪ | — || ∼ ∪ | — ∪ | — >
∪ : — ∪ | — > | — ∪ | — > | — ∪ | — ∧.

Lyric metres, however, are rare in inscriptions (Allen, *op. cit.*).

Little, if any, new material has been added by the excavation to help in dating, either relatively or absolutely, these five inscriptions concerning Archedemus, and the question is still open to the considerable differences of opinion indicated in the *C.I.A.* The evidence from the forms of the letters is very contradictory, as will be seen most easily from the accompanying table, which is presented without analysis.

no.	α	δ	ε	η	θ	κ	λ	μ	ν	ξ	π	ρ	ς	υ	φ	χ	ω	h
16	AA	ΔΔ	E	E	Θ	K	L	M	MM	+Σ	-	R	ΣΣ	V	Φ	+	Ο	H
17	A	Δ	E	E	Θ	K	-	MM	N	-	Π	R	Σ	V	Φ	+	-	H
18	A	Δ	E	E	Θ	-	-	M	-	-	-	P	Σ	-	-	+	-	H ²
19	A	Δ	E	H	-	-	-	MM	-	-	-	PP	Σ	-	-	+	-	-
20	A	Δ	E	H	Θ	-	Λ	MM	NN	Ξ	Π	P	ΣΣ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ο	ε

There are corresponding inconsistencies in the employment of Dorisms: No. 16 has 'Αρχέδαμος (probably) and νύνφαι, but τῆι; No. 17 has 'Αρχέδαμος and κᾶπον; No. 18 has 'Αρχέδαμος; No. 19 has 'Αρχέδημος; No. 20 has 'Αρχέδημος and νυμφὸν, but ἐξηργάξατο.

It may be, then, that considerable time elapsed between the various inscriptions, and especially before the latest—which is pretty surely No. 20; it is, however, possible that they all were cut by one man, whose foreign birth (Θηραῖος)—and, perhaps, archaizing proclivity—caused the confusion of dialectal and literal forms which is met even in the same inscription, but the material in hand is too contradictory to allow a positive decision as to which alternative is correct.

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